

Kinga Paraskiewicz
Jagiellonian University of Kraków

English loanwords in New Persian

Abstract

This study examines different aspects of English lexical borrowings in New Persian, their phonetic adaptation, semantic changes, and social attitudes towards them (i.e. tensions between the prescriptive stand of language purists and the community, especially the young people of Tehran). It is based on the corpus of c. 340 words collected from dictionaries of Modern and colloquial Persian, media, spoken language sources, and data assembled from the Persian Internet sites.

Keywords

New Persian, English borrowings, lexica.

Introduction

It is widely known that Persian influenced the lexicons of the neighbouring languages, especially Arabic (cf. Perry 2005; Lazard 1965), Hindi (Shackle 2004), Urdu (Kuczkiewicz-Fraś 2008–2012) and Turkic (Doerfer 1965–1975). Many Persian words have also found their way into the English language (Daryush 1934), either directly, or indirectly through other languages. On mutual terms, New Persian has also borrowed many lexical and morphological items from these languages. This process started in the 7th c. AD, i.e. after the Arab conquest of Iran, and since that time a considerable number of Arabisms have entered the Persian lexicon and have been Persianized. Most of them are used as synonyms of native terms. Some take meanings different from the Arabic original and are used in a different way (cf. Lazard 1975). New Persian also contains a considerable number of Mongolian and Turkic elements, because of the immense prestige that the Persian language and literature held in the Islamic world, which was often ruled by sultans and emirs with a Turkic background (cf. Knüppel 2010a, 2010b).

Over the past two centuries, Persian has incorporated a large number of loanwords from European languages, most notably from French (Shirazi 1907; Deyhime 1956, 2000; Faršidvard 1964, 1965; Jazayery 1966, 1966–1967; Foruqi 1974; Khan 1983; Zomorrodīān 1995). This was due to the modernization of culture and society in Persia during the reign of Nāser al-Din Shāh Qājār (1848–1896)¹ (Shakoor Ahsan 1976). France served as Persia's most important model of modern secular culture, particularly in the 19th and early 20th century. French was not only the language of the corps diplomatique but was also used as a second language in European royal courts particularly when the refinements of cuisine, manners, and etiquette were discussed. *Dār al-fonun*, the “House of the sciences,” the first modern educational institution founded in Tehran, was Persia's main instrument for the introduction of modern European culture, and also of European technical and scientific vocabulary into Persian. French culture and literature were highly esteemed. The names of the months in the Julian calendar still bear their French names: *āvril* (also *eypril* < ‘April’ [MM 33]), *ut* < Fr. *août* (also: *āgust* ‘August’ [MM 16]), etc.; so do the names of European cities (*Āten* ‘Athens’, *Ānvers* ‘Antwerp’) and countries (*Ālemān* ‘Germany’, *Eṭāzuni* ‘the United States’, *Irlandi* ‘Ireland’, *Otriš* ‘Austria’). Moreover, one of the most popular expressions for “thank you” in Persian is *mersi* (accented on the first syllable).² French was virtually the only language that Persian secondary-school students used to learn for six years to meet the European-language requirement, until it was replaced by English after the Second World War.³ At present, most of the French loanwords are obsolete and sound archaic. Many of them are being substituted by their English synonyms: *rezume* = *abestrakt* < Eng. *abstract* (Pers. *čekide* [VF 72]); *mod* < Fr. *mode* = *fāšion* < Eng. *fashion* [HS 597]; *odo-kolon* < Fr. *eau de Cologne* = *after-šeyv* < Eng. *after shave* [SS]; *to’alet* < Fr. *toilette* = *meik-āp* < Eng. *make-up* (= Pers. *ārāyēš-e surat*); *aplikāšyon* = *epli-keyšen* < Eng. *application* (= Pers. *dar-xāst* [VF 47]), *āmātur* = *ārmičer* < *armature* [MM 9], etc.

¹ Nāser al-Din was the first modern Persian monarch to visit Europe several times (1873, 1878, 1889) and was reportedly amazed with the technology he saw there. The travel diary of his 1873 trip has been published in several languages, such as Persian, German, French, and Dutch.

² Use of foreign synonyms instead of Persian words is a common practice in everyday communication as an alternative expression. In some instances in addition to the Persian word or phrase, the equivalents from Arabic, French or English can be used. For example, in Iranian colloquial Persian, the phrase “thank you” is expressed using the French word *merci*, the Persian-Arabic *motešakker-am* (“I am merciful, thankful”), or by the pure Persian *sepāsgozār-am*. In slang also: *taksi-mersi* < *taxi* + *merci* ‘a boy who takes his girl-friend for a date’ [SS].

³ Deyhime 2000: 181–184.

English loanwords

It is not surprising that nowadays English words are being incorporated into Persian. This process is a continuous influx, in spite of the efforts to curb it constantly undertaken by official institutions such as the *Farhangestān*.⁴ The influence of English on Persian dates back to the mid-20th c.; however, it has gained momentum in the last decades, due to globalisation, new technologies (the Internet, computer science), as well as pop-culture (videos, films, music).⁵ The gradual entry of a large number of words continues via the massmedia and due to the sociolect used by young Iranians, which has English words that their parents and teachers do not know. For this reason the number of Anglicisms in Persian cannot be estimated accurately.

Adaptation of English phonemes

All English borrowings in Persian undergo a fast process of adaptation on the phonological level and the language community assimilates them readily and fully. This process is facilitated by the fact that the English and Persian phonological systems are very similar; so, too, are their morphological systems, with no inflection of the nouns and adjectives. Most of the English consonants have direct counterparts in Persian, and cause no difficulty to the speakers of Farsi. The only one, but still a relatively substantial phonetic adjustment, is the English interdental spirant /θ/, which is rendered as Persian dental stop /t/.⁶ The English approximant /r/ is also pronounced as the alveolar trill /r/ in all positions, because of the fact that practically most of the Anglicisms have been adopted from written sources.

⁴ *Farhangestān-e zabān-o-adab-e fārsi* tries to fight the influx of the foreign words. It was established in 1911 to “protect” the Persian language. The Academy’s main activity is to create and approve official Persian equivalents for the foreign general or technical terms. However, many new words coined by this association fail to attract the attention of speakers of Persian.

⁵ Iran has not opened its borders to the West, as we did in 1989, when Poland overthrew communism, opened its borders to the West and the influence of English on Polish has grown. E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld has recorded about 1,700 Anglicisms in Polish. Cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1995; 2006.

⁶ The mapping of the English interdental stops vs. fricatives is typical loanword phonology. Persian parts correspond with Russian, Canadian French and Turkish where Eng. /θ/ is also adapted as /t/.

English consonants and their counterparts in Persian:

Eng. (IPA)	Pers. (Romanized)	Examples
/p/	[p]	<i>pop</i> /pɒp/ > [pāp]
/b/	[b]	<i>box</i> /baks/ > [bāks]
/t/	[t]	<i>toast</i> /təʊst/ > [tost]
/d/	[d]	<i>doping</i> /dɒpɪŋ/ > [doping]
/k/	[k]	<i>cover</i> /kʌvə(r)/ > [kāver]
/g/	[g]	<i>guard</i> /gɑ:d/ > [gārd]
/tʃ/	[č]	<i>check</i> /tʃek / > [ček]
/dʒ/	[ğ]	<i>joint</i> /dʒɔɪnt/ > [ğo'ɪnt]
/f/	[f]	<i>football</i> /fʊtbɔ:l/ [futbāl]
/v/	[v]	<i>virtual</i> /vɜ:ʃʊəl/ [virtu'al]
/s/	[s]	<i>satelite</i> /sætələɪt/ [sātelāyt]
/z/	[z]	<i>save as</i> /seɪvəz/ [seyvaz]
/ʃ/	[š]	<i>shift</i> /ʃɪft/ [šift]
/ʒ/	[ž]	<i>visual</i> /vɪʒʊəl/ [vižuel]
/h/	[h]	<i>handbook</i> /hændbʊk/ > [handbuk]
/n/ /ŋ/	[n]	<i>number</i> /nʌmbə(r)/ > [nāंबर]
/m/	[m]	<i>money</i> /mʌni/ > [māni]
/r/	[r]	<i>receiver</i> /rɪsi:və(r)/ > [risiver]
/l/	[l]	<i>laser</i> /leɪzə(r)/ > [leyzer]
/j/	[y]	<i>university</i> /ju:nɪvɜ:səti/ > [yuniversiti]
/w/	[ow] [v]*	<i>microwave</i> /maɪkrəʊweɪv/ > [makroweyv] <i>warmer</i> /wɔ:mə(r)/ > [vārmer]
/θ/	lacks > [t]	<i>erythromycin</i> /ɪrɪθrɒməɪsɪn/ > [eritromāysin]
/ð/	lacks	lacks

* Eng. /w/ – velar approximant glide is mapped to Pers. voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ or diphthong /ou/.

More substantial changes occur in the vowel phonemes, involving several which have no counterparts in Persian. 12 English vowels and 8 diphthongs are being adapted as 6 Persian vowels: the so-called short ones: [a], [e], [o], and the long ones: [ā], [ī], [u]⁷ and 2 diphthongs [ey], [ow]. Moreover, factors affecting vowel changes in general include the written forms of the words (both in English and in Persian), as well as the optional Persian rule of assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable.

Eng.	Pers.	Examples
/æ/	[a] [ā]	<i>abstract</i> /æbstrækt/ > [abesterakt] <i>adaptor</i> /ədæptər/ > [ādāptor]
/ɒ/	[ā]	<i>offside</i> /ɒfsaɪd/ > [āfsāyd]
/ɑ:/	[ār]	<i>body guard</i> /ˈbɒdɪgɑ:d/ > [bādi-gārd]
/ʌ/	[ā]	<i>check up</i> /tʃekʌp/ > [čekāp]
/e/	[e]	<i>check</i> /tʃek/ > [ček]
/i:/	[ī]	<i>cheese</i> /tʃi:z/ > [čiz]
/ɪ/	[ī]	<i>body guard</i> /ˈbɒdɪgɑ:d/ > [bādi-gārd]
/o/	[u] [o]	<i>handbook</i> /hændbʊk/ > [handbuk] <i>erythromycin</i> /ɪrɪθrəməɪsɪn/ > [eritromāysin]
/u:/	[u]	<i>mood</i> /mu:d/ > [mud]
/ɔ:/	[ā] [āv]	<i>August</i> /ɔ:gəst/ > [āgust] <i>drawer</i> /drɔ:ə/ > [derāver]
/ɜ:/	[e] [ī]	<i>burger</i> /bɜ:gə(r)/ > [berger] <i>virtual</i> /vɜ:ʃʊəl/ [virtu'al]
/ə/	[e] [ā] [o] [u]	<i>satelite</i> /sætələɪt/ [sātēlāyt] <i>adaptor</i> /ədæptər/ > [ādāptor] <i>badminton</i> [bædmmɪntən] > [badminton] <i>August</i> /ɔ:gəst/ > [āgust]

⁷ Diachronically, Persian possessed a distinction of length in its underlying vowel inventory, contrasting the 'long' vowels /i:/ = [ī], /u:/ = [u], /a:/ = [ā] with the 'short' vowels /i/ > /e/ [e], /u/ > /o/ [o], /æ/ [a] respectively. At present, Persian vowels: /i:/ /u:/ are pronounced as long ones, but this is not a distinctive phonological feature (cf. Pisowicz 1985). Pers. [a] is a low front open vowel, very close to [æ]; it may be compared with [-a-] in Eng. *cat*, but without the [-y-] off-glide; Pers. [e] is an open-mid front vowel, very close to [ɛ], it may be compared with [-e-] in *let*. Pers. [o] is a close-mid to open-mid back vowel; it may be compared with the [-o-] in the second syllable of *colonize*. Normally, English /o/ is accompanied by a "w" off-glide (as in *roller*); this is not the case in Persian.

Eng.	Pers.	Examples
ɑɪ	[āy]* [ā'i]	<i>amplifier</i> /æmplɪfaiə(r)/ > [ampeli-fāyer] <i>file</i> /faɪl/ > [fā'il] or [fāyl]
ɑʊ	[ow] [o]	<i>out</i> /aʊt/ > [owt] <i>ounce</i> /aʊns/ > [ons]
eɪ	[ey]	<i>save as</i> /seɪvəz/ [seyvaz]
əʊ	[ow] [ov] [o] [ā] [e'o]	<i>microwave</i> /maɪkrəʊweɪv/ > [māykroweyv] <i>over</i> /əʊvə(r)/ > [over] <i>OK</i> /əʊkeɪ/ > [o-key] <i>process</i> /prəʊses/ > [perāses] <i>deodorant</i> [di:əʊdərənt] > [de'odorānt]
ɔɪ	[o'i]	<i>joint</i> /dʒɔɪnt/ > [ǰo'int]
iə	[i] [e]/[iyo]	<i>pioneer</i> [paɪənɪə(r)] > [pāyonir] <i>period</i> [pɪəriəd] > [periyod]
eə	[ey]	<i>air</i> [eə(r)] > [eyr]
ʊə	[e]	<i>armature</i> /ɑ:məʃʊə(r)/ > [ārmičər]

* The [āy] cluster is not a diphthong in Persian. However, in colloquial Persian some words lose a medial vowel [e] and a cluster with [āy] sound becomes a diphthong: *fāyde* < *fāyede*. The [āy] is often pronounced without a consonant glide [y] (hiatus), but with a glottal stop: *čāi* /čā'i/. Some English diphthongs are also rendered as vocalic on sets with a glottal stop /'/: *joint* /dʒɔɪnt/ > [ǰo'int], *deodorant* [di:əʊdərənt] > [de'odorānt] etc.

Change of stress. Persian nouns, adjectives, prepositions, and adverbs are stressed invariably on the final syllable of the word. Hence, all English loans are being adapted in this way: *cover* /kʰʌvə(r)/ > [kāv'er], *burger* /b'ɜ:gə(r)/ > [berg'er] etc.

Consonant clusters. The major phonological change, as far as the consonants are concerned, involves initial consonant clusters, where the schwa-like, reduced vowel [e] /ə/ is added after the first consonant, e.g.: *perāys* < *price*, *ferend* < *friend*, except in the case of [s], where [e] is added before the consonant; e.g., *esport* < *sport*. Sometimes, especially in rapid speech, vowels other than [e] are added, usually in assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable; e.g. *program* < *programme*.

Script. The Persian vowel [o] – is written here, while in native words it is not (only in the final position): *modem* مودم. Some loanwords are written separately, according to the English spelling: *ān-kāl* < *on call*, or according to their morphological structure *āf-sāyd* < *offside*; *dāš-bord* < *dashboard*.

Formal classification of borrowings⁸

a. Loanwords: items imported with no or minimal essential changes: Eng. *baby-sitter* > Pers. *beybi-siter* (= Pers. *parastār* 'nurse') [MM 96]; *wheelchair* > *vilčēr* (= Pers. *čarxak* 'a small chair') [VF 90]; *box* > *bāks* (= Pers.-Arab. *ğā'be*; *yek bāks-e sigār* 'one box of cigarettes' [MM 84]), *up to date* > *āp-tu-deyt* [VF 44, MM 5], etc.

b. Loanblends: loans with a partial substitution of native morphemes: *bāysikel-rān* 'cyclist' < Eng. *bicycle* + Pers. *rān* (*rāndan* 'to drive') [MM 86], *kad-eks* 'countryman' < *kad* 'country' + Eng. suffix *-ex* [SS]. English loans joined as a nominal element to the verbal part of the compound verbs also belong to this class: (*kardan* 'to do, make', or *zadan* 'to beat, strike', *gereftan* 'to take'): *āprešiyeyt kardan* 'to appreciate' [MM 33], *ček kardan* 'to controll' [MM 160], *esperey kardan* 'to spray' [MM 44–45, VF 50], *estārtzadan* 'to let start' [MM 46], and slang expressions: *fokus kešidan* < *focus* 'to focus, attract sb.'s attention', *figer gereftan* < 'to figure, to be snotty, arrogant', *fak kardan* (< *fuck*) 'to express strong disgust or anger, annoyance, impatience', *lāv (tarkāndan)* 'to fall in love'.

c. Loanshifts: with complete substitution of native morphemes, including: **loanshift extensions** ('semantic loans'): native terms are applied to new cultural or technological phenomena that are roughly similar to something in the old culture: *virāstār* 'editor' < *virāstan* 'to arrange, to edit' [MM 39, VF 49], *bereštār* 'toaster' < *bereštan* 'to roast' (based on obsolete verbs with the agentive suffix *-ār*).

loanshift creations ('loan translations'): where the morphemes in the borrowed word are translated item by item: *maxlut-kon* 'mixer' [VF 56], *sard-kon* 'chiller', *yax-zan* 'freezer' [VF 79] (the present stem *-kon* 'maker, making' or *-zan* 'beating') as an equivalent to the Eng. suffix *-er*), *ru-be-ru* 'face-to-face', etc.

Semantic classification. English loan words exist in all domains of life. In the following list of examples, each word is listed in one semantic category.

Business, trade and economics: *bārkod* < *barcode* [VF 55], *bizenēs* < *business* [MM 96], *damping* < *dumping* (= Pers. *bāzār-šekāni* [VF 71–2]), *delāl*

⁸ Formal classification is based upon the degree of modification of lexical units of the source of model language. Loans are divided into three main classes, where the criterion will be the extent to which native morphemes have been substituted for foreign (cf. Weinreich 1953: 50–53; Haugen 1950: 212–220).

< *dealer* (= Pers. *forušan-de* ‘seller’), *kāmpāni* < *company*, *lobbi* < *lobby*, *māni* < *money* (also: *čeng* < *change*, *dollar* < *dollar*), *perāis-list* < *price list* (= Pers. *bahā-nāme*) [VF 61]. Foreign proper nouns, brand names and commercial terms used in Persian as common nouns also belong to this category. For example, ball point pens (BIC) are colloquially called *bik-hā* ‘the bic pens’. The fact that such words are used as common nouns can be seen in the way in which they can be modified: *bik-i* ‘a bic’, *bik-am* ‘my bic’, etc. Such uses typically arise through ellipsis or metonymy: *ādāms* < ‘a chewing gum made by *Adams*’ → ‘an *Adams* chewing-gum’ → ‘an *Adams*’ [HS 5]; *rimmel* ‘mascara’ < *Rimmel*, *eskāč* < *Scotch* 1. *eskāč-e berāyt* ‘Scotch-Brite (a line of abrasive cleaning pads)’; 2. ‘(Scotch) tape’, 3. ‘whisky’ [MM 50].

Clothing: *kot* < *coat*, *beleyzer* < *blazer* [MM 92], *smoking* < *smoking* ‘dinner jacket; tuxedo’ [MM 53, HS 30], *tišert* < *T-shirt*, *over-kot* < *over coat* [MM 72], etc.

Education: *bi-es* < *B.Sc.* ‘Bachelor of Science’, (vulg.) ‘bullshit’ [MM 96]; *em-fil* < *M.Phil.*, *em-es* < *M.Sc.* ‘Master of Science’ [MM 65], *open-yuniversity* < *open university* (= Pers. *danešgāh-e āzād*, *āmuzeš-e bāz*) [MM 33], *āy-kiyu* < *I.Q.* ‘Intelligence Quotient’ (= Pers. *bahre-ye huš* ‘profit of intelligence’; cf. *kiyu dādan* ‘to teach, instruct’ [MM 29]), etc.

Food, drinkand cookery: *āyriš-kofi* < *Irish coffee* [MM 28], *āys-ti* < *ice-tea* [MM 28], *beyken* / *biken* < *bacon* [MM 97], *bārbeki-yu* < *barbecue* (= Pers. *kebāb*) [MM 82], *berāndi* < *brandy* [MM 87], *belender* < *blender* (= Pers. *maxlut-kon* ‘mixer’) [VF 56], *berger* < *burger* ‘a sandwich’ (*čiz-berger* < *cheese-burger*, *hām-berger* < *ham-burger*, *čiken-berger* < *chicken burger*) [MM 88], *beyking-pāder* < *baking powder* [MM 97], *čāp-(e)stik* < *chopsticks* [MM 159], *čāyniz* (food, kitchen) < *Chinese* (cf. Pers. *čini*): *restorān-e čāyniz* ‘Chinese restaurant’ [MM 159], *čips* < *chips* ‘British French fries’ [MM 160], *čiz* < *cheese* (= Pers. *panir*): e.g. *čiz-berger* < *cheese burger* [MM 160], *dānat* < *donat* ‘Dunkin Donut’s doughnut’ [SS], *estek* < *steak* [MM 49], *fast-fud* < *fast-food*, *fud-perosesor* < *food processor* (cf. Pers. *xorāk xorde-kon* ‘food-blender’, *mulineks* < *Moulinex*) [VF 80], *kečāp* < *ketchup*, *sāndvič* < *sandwich* [HS 495], *keyk* < *cake* [HS 533], *milk-šeyk* < *milk-shake*, *pāp-korn* < *popcorn* (= Pers. *čos-e fil* lit. ‘an elephant’s fart’) [MM 101], *tost* < *toast* (*nān-e tost* = *nān-e berešti*), *toster* < *toaster* (= Pers. *berešte-kon*, *bereštār*), *toster-āven* < *toaster oven* [VF 66], *fāst-fud* < *fast-food* (= Pers. *tond-xorāk* ‘quick meal’), *viski* < *whisky* [SH 713].

Housing: *čiler* < *chiller*, *derāver* < *drawer* (= Pers. *kešoi* ‘linen chest’) [VF 70], *felāver-bāks* < *flower-box* [VF 80], *ferizer* < *freezer* [VF 79], *park*

< *park* (= Pers. *mānak*); e.g. *pārk-e bače* ‘a child’s boxlike bed, usually incorporating vertical bars or net’ [MM 104, VF 59], *self-servis* < *self-servis* ‘a dining-room’, *sink* < *sink* (= Pers. *zarf-e šu’i*) [VF 76], *vārmer* < *warmer* ‘small oven’ (= Pers. *čerāqak*) [VF 89].

Internet and computer science: *bāyt* < *byte* [MM 86], *čāt* < *chat* (= Pers. *sohbat*, *goft-o-gu* ‘talk’), *disk* < *disc* (= Pers. *gerdak* ‘rounded’; e.g. *disk-e saxt*, *derāyv-e hārd* ‘harddisc; hard drive’), *eror* < *error*, *imeyl* < *e-mayl* (= Pers. *post-e elektroniki* ‘electronic mail’ [VF 54]), *import* < *import* [MM 78], *informeyšēn* < *information* [MM 79], *kāfi-net* < *Internet cafe*, *kāmpyuter* < *computer* (= Pers. *rāyāne* ‘arranger’): *kāmpyuter-e dasti* ‘laptop, notebook’ (*dasti* ‘handy’), *kelik* < *clic*, *konekt* < *connect* (= Pers. *vasl kardan*), *link* šodan < *link*, *māus* < *mouse*, *menu* < *menu*, *modem-e kābeli* < *cable modem* (with the Persian *ezafe*), *perāsesor* < *processor*, *sāit-e internet* < *Internet site*, *server* < *server* (*servis-dehande*), *system* < *system*, *seyvaz karadn* < *safe as* ‘to save as, to write down’, *virus* < *virus*.

Politics, law, order: *afsar* < *officer* (= Pers. < Arab. *ma’mur* ‘officer, official’; (*arch.*) ‘diadem, crown’ < Middle Pers. *abesar* ‘crown’). The word *afsar* is approved by *Farhangestān* instead of Arabic *sāheb-e mansab-e laškari* [MM 56, HS 39, FS 83], *āpārtāyd* < *apartheid* [MM 4], *apilānt* < *appellant* ‘a person who appeals, as to a higher tribunal’ [FS 12], *bāykot* < *boycott* [MM 86], *pālisi* < *policy* (instead of Pers.-Arab. *siyāsāt*) [MM 107], *pārti* < *party* (= Pers.-Arab. *hezb* ‘(political) party’, *passport* < *passport* (= Pers. *gozār-nāme*) [MM 105], *perezident* < *president* (= Pers.-Arab. *ra’is*) [MM 112].

Pop-culture: *album* < *album* (longplay), *berek-dāns* < *break-dance* [MM 88], *dancing* < *dancing* [MM 164], *disko* < *disco*, *estār* < *star* ‘a prominent actor, singer, or the like a pop-star’ also: *super-estār* [MM 45], *film-e āmuzeši*, *film-e super* ‘super i.e. pornographic film’, *kārton* < *cartoon* ‘pornographic film or video’, *pānk* < *punk* ‘of punk-style’ (cf. Pers. *musiqi-ye pānk* ‘punk music’, *lebās-e pānk* ‘punk-dress’) [MM 108], *pāp* < *pop(ular)* ‘art or modern music’ [MM 101]. There are also slang words for illegal products, drugs, etc.: *eks* < *ecstasy* (*ex terekundan* ‘to take ecstasy’), *el-es-di* < *LSD* [MM 61], *esniff kardan* < *sniff* ‘to inhale drugs through the nose’, *espid* < *speed* ‘heroin’, *ğey*, *ğoint* < *joint* ‘a marijuana cigarette’, *hāk-fīn* < *Huckleberry Finn* ‘hashish’.

Sport: *āf-sāyd* < *offside* [MM 12], *ārābik* < *aerobic(s)*, *badminton* < *badminton* [MM 87], *bak* < *back* ‘a player who takes a position behind the front line of other players in football’ [MM 90], *bāl* < *ball* [MM 84], *basketball* < *basketball* [MM 90], *berīg* < *bridge* [MM 89], *beys* < *base* [MM 96], *beys-bāl* < *baseball* [MM 97], *boling* < *bowling* [MM 96], *doping* < *doping* [VF 72], *eskeyt*

< *skate* [MM 52], *esku'āš* < *squash* [MM 51], *esport* < *sport* (= Pers. *varzeš* 'sport'), also: 'informal clothes' (*kot-o-šalvār-e esport* 'sport suit' < *kot* 'coat, jacket' + *šalvār* 'trousers') [MM 44], *estādyom* < *stadium* (= Pers. *meydān-e varzeš*, *varzešgāh*) [MM 45], *estārt* < *start(er)*, *estārtzadan* 'to let start' [MM 46], *futbāl* < *football* [SH 481], *handbāl* < *handball* [SA 1186], *kenok-aut* < *knock out*, *out* < *out* (= Pers. *birun az bāzi*) [MM 70], *vāley-bāl* < *volleyball* [SH 703].

New technologies: *adaptor* < *adaptor* [MM 6], *ampelifāyer* < *amplifier* [MM 19], *animeyšin* < *animation* [MM 70, VF 53], *ānsering-māšin* < *answering machine* (= Pers. *payām-gir*) [VF 53], *bulldozer* < *bulldozer* (also as a synonym of *ādam-e zurgu* 'a strong man') [MM 95], *dāš-bord* < *dashboard* [MM 163], *digital* < *digital*, *eskān* < *scan* [MM 51], *eslou-moušen* < *slow motion* [MM 52], *eyr-kāndišen* < *air condition* [MM 77], *gakuzi* < *Jacuzzi* (= Pers. *āb-zan* 'shower') [VF 69], *kopi kardan* < *copy*, *kopi-rāyt* < *copy right* [VF 84], *leyzar* < *laser*, *mobile* < *mobile*, *silikān* < *silicon*, *Teflon* < *teflon*, *terminal* < *terminal*.

Adjectives, exclamations and other expressions: *ānest* < *honest* [MM 26], *bāy*, *gudbāy* < *bye*, *goodbye* (= Pers. *xodā-hāfez* 'God protect!'), *derank* < *drunk* (= Pers. *māst*), *ān-kāl* < *on call* (= Pers. *guš-be-zang* 'ear-on-phone'; e.g.: *pezešk-e ān-kāl* 'a physician who is on call' [MM 27, VF 47]), *hāy* < *high* (Pers. *zibā*) 'beautiful', *hāy-kelās* < *high class*, *kip-in-tač* < *keep in touch*, *kul* < *cool* (= Pers. *saxt-na-gir* 'take it easy'), *o-key* < *OK* 'all correct' (= Pers. *čašm*, *xub*) [MM 73], *pelās-pelās* < *plus* (= Pers. *ziyād* 'a lot, plenty'), *sāyd-bāy-sāyd* < *side by side* (= Pers. *ham-bar*, e.g.: *yaxčāl (ferizer)-e sāyd-bāy-sāyd*) [VF 91], *tāp* < *top* (Pers. *behtarin*); *ups* < *oops!* (an exclamation of surprise, in Persian *met.* 'a fashionable car'), etc.

Most English loanwords are well established, used in magazines, books, and the spoken language. However there are also many slang expressions, loan shifts, new creations, very popular among teenagers, which are neither standardised in their spelling nor registered in Persian dictionaries. These borrowings are not permanent, they are products of changing circumstances, fashion, and play different roles in different situations. Some of them, recorded in Samā'i's *Dictionary of Argot* (1996) will survive, some will not, e.g.: *keys* < *case* 'a girl; a peculiar or eccentric person', *pānāsonik* < *Panasonic (slang)* 'an attractive girl', *tāytānik* < *Titanic*, *(ma)tiriks* < *Matrix* 'a fashionist, obsequious follower of fashions and trends', *le'onārdo* < *Leonardo* (di Caprio) 'handsome boy', *king-kong* < *King-Kong* 'ugly girl', *ğordan-e ġonub* ('Jordan of the South') 'an attractive boy from the southern district of Tehran', *dāynāsor* < *dinosaur* 'a person or thing that is considered to be outdated' [MM 164], *ko'ālā* < *koala (met.)* 'an old, slow car'. There are also typical slang expressions using

Persian and English abbreviated words with the English pronunciation: *ef-ġi-es* < *Full-Javād-System* ‘out of fashion; outmoded; obsolete; passé; a boy who is not fashion-conscious’; *bi-bi-si* < BBC ‘a mobile phone, also: a spy’ (‘a spy’ also: *ānten, geštāpo*), *kāketus* < *cactus* (*met.*) ‘policeman (for the green police uniform)’, *si-ġey* < *cigarette*; *āy-si-yu* < *I.C.U.* ‘Intensive Care Unit’ (‘I see you’), etc. It is quite likely that many of them have become obsolete by now, and many new short-term loans have appeared.

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